586 832 the latter uses the article in question he or she is overcome with desire for the other.

587 A widow always marries her husband's brother or some member of his kin. If she does not, she risks the accusation that she killed her husband for the love of another man. A widower frequently, but not necessarily, marries his wife's sister.

592 597 The family is therefore composed of a man and his one or more wives and their unmarried children. Each family has its own house and seldom shares a house with adult individuals other than the spouses and their unmarried children. No case was recorded of an adult male (with the exception of young suitors) occupying a house jointly with another adult male. If several adult women are living in the house they are always found to be wives or concubines of the man of the household. Children of deceased relatives are, however, often adopted. Practically every individual in the community over the age of about twenty is married or has definite plans to be married. Universal matrimony thus obviates dependency occasioned by old age as well as loneliness. Children of one or the other of the spouses by previous marriages may be included in the family group. If both parents of young children die, they are usually adopted by the maternal grandparents. The family, composed of spouses and their own and adopted children, is thus coterminous with the household.

[582] [736]

595 A man may take additional wives if he can persuade their fathers that he can care for them. There seems to be little objection on the part of the brothers or kinsmen of the first wife, if she is not mistreated. Aside from the type of polygamy in which the several wives live in the same household, several cases were recorded of men who were maintaining two households, each in a separate settlement.

Within the household there exists no formal distinction between children of polygamous or subsequent marriages, and a child's position in the family depends largely upon its personality and age. The same is true of wives in polygamous families.

(858)

594 Three means of entrance to the family group are possible: birth, adoption, and marriage. A man is born into a household, and lives there until he is ready to marry, whereupon he establishes a household of his own. The position one occupies in the household group, therefore, depends upon whether the group in question

601
17. pwatumu — bro.'s son; hus.'s sis.'s son
18. pwarimye — dau.'s hus.
19. parisano — son's wife
20. wopuko — fa.'s sis.; mo.'s bro.'s wife
21.
22. unya — hus.
23. yedote — fa.'s sis.'s dau.; mo.'s bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.; bro.'s wife
24. uimwe (umwe, ume) — son; mo.'s sis.'s son; sis.'s son; hus.'s bro.'s son
25. umwetamuru — hus.'s fa. ("son's grf.")
26. umwenote — hus.'s mo. ("son's grm.")
27. pwase — bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.'s dau.

601 582 If we look for the active principles of the system in the three "middle" generations (i.e. speaker's generation, first ascending, and first descending generations), we find that we have here a bifurcating system, in which relatives tracing descent through the maternal line are differentiated from those tracing descent through the paternal line. Marriage, if reflected in the terminology, is generally of the symmetrical cross cousin variety, with the exception that a man may marry his sister's daughter. This is a type of terminology, in other words, which at first glance is well adapted to a dual organization or a sib system. At the present time, however, 614 174 there is not the slightest indication of the presence of sibs nor of their former existence. Furthermore, no definite existence of sibs or dual organizations in Carib groups of an earlier time is to be found in the literature. Schomburgk, in speaking of the Macusi,[1] makes no mention of clans but says, "the uncle on the father's side may not marry the niece because she is regarded as next of kindred to the brothers and sisters, for which reason he also is called 'Papa.' On the other hand he is allowed to make ties with the daughter of his sister, the wife of a deceased brother and his stepmother when the father is dead." At the same time, it is hinted that descent is through the mother. However, the above mentioned marriage of a man with his sister's daughter would be contrary to the exogamic rule of a matrilinear clan, so that if any inference is to be drawn from the above statement of Schomburgk, it is that the Macusi are either patrilineal or that

[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. II, p. 252.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

614 wide distribution in the world, the dual organization a narrow
601 one, so that the general explanation of the type on the basis of
171 the dual organization is not applicable" unless one assumes the later diffusion of this type of nomenclature or a former wider distribution of the dual organization, evidence for which is lacking.

601 The actual kinship usages among the Barama Caribs at the
587 present time support the view that, in the absence of sib organization, the terminology is closely connected with the customs of the levirate and the sororate. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, polygamous marriages are frequently sororal. Likewise, a widow usually marries a brother of her deceased husband. If these customs are not followed invariably at the present time, they nevertheless seem to be survivals of more stringent rules of former times. Informants state that sororate and levirate were invariable among the "old-time people." Unfortunately, while in the area itself, I did not have this problem well enough in mind to make a thorough census of marriages for the purpose of determining the actual incidence of the levirate and sororate in the total number of unions. However, practically all informants stated levirate and sororate rules in their descriptions of the choice of mates which are taken after the first marriage, indicating that this seems to be the conscious pattern, regardless of the actual behavior. In the twelve cases of polygynous marriages with the circumstances of which I was familiar, each of eight men had married his wife's sister. Of seven widows who had remarried, all had married brothers or parallel cousins (terminologically the same) of the deceased husbands.

601 Now the distinction between cross and parallel cousins and
582 the prohibition of marriage with the latter, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Barama Carib system, as can be seen from the equivalences of affinal relatives (Section B, Analysis of the Relationship System), is an obvious necessity in a society in which both the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. The implications are obvious.[1] In many cases marriage with a child of the father's brother or mother's sister in such a society would mean marriage with an actual half-brother or half-sister.

[1] Cf. Lowie, 1919, *Family and Sib*; Lowie, 1920, *Primitive Society*, Chap. 8; Sapir, 1916, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, pp. 327–337. Somewhat same viewpoints are expressed in Kroeber, 1909, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, pp. 77–84; Radcliff-Brown, 1930, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, p. 427 ff.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

Such incestuous marriages, with a very few exceptions, are prohibited throughout human society.[1] 601 582

On the other hand, marriage with a cross cousin, while occurring about a third of the time in the geneologies, is not prescribed in the system. It is true that the spouses of one's siblings and parallel cousins are addressed by the same terms as cross cousins (e.g. sister's husband is pwatumu, brother's wife is takano), but in actual usage among the Caribs these terms for cross cousin have no true implication of blood relationship. It would be more proper to translate the terms takano (female cross cousin, man speaking) and iyao (male cross cousin, woman speaking) as "marriageable." In other words, a Carib man will address any woman whom he does not know definitely to be a parallel cousin or sister as takano, a Carib woman will address any man as iyao whom she knows is not her brother or parallel cousin. Any individual called by these terms is a possible mate. All other persons are impossible as mates. I, being a stranger, was frequently called iyao by the women. This is not to say that the Caribs do not generally know which individuals are their cross cousins by blood relationship, but it simply means that no terminological distinction is made between true cross cousins and other marriageable persons. Such extension of terms is entirely inconsistent with a dual organization.

A further indication that the kinship terminology is unconnected with a former sib or dual organization is the indifference displayed 601 614

[1] This is not the place to enter into an elaborate theoretical discussion of incest tabus. We may, however, offer an explanation of their origin which does not depend on a supposed inherent repulsion against incest nor upon the presence or structure of the sib group. Assume, for the sake of making the point clear, that marriage was originally practised between brothers and sisters. It is the nature of things that all marriages could not be of this type over a considerable length of time. In the first place, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal in every human family. Some persons would therefore be obliged to seek mates outside the immediate family. In the second place, individual preference in some cases would naturally dictate the choice of a mate from those who were not numbered among the brothers or sisters of the chooser. Again an outside marriage would take place. Once an individual has married outside his family he has doubled his social resources; he has two families behind him instead of one; and the two groups united in the marriage have a basis therein for common interests. In the competition for survival which takes place among individuals and among families in all human society, even today, the person who married outside his family, and his family itself, would be in a stronger position than those who married siblings and families in which this was the only type of marriage. Thus two types of family would arise to compete against each other, the exogamic and the endogamic. Because of their greater social influence, which would of course be strengthened with the development of property concepts, the exogamic families would presumably force the endogamic families into extinction. At least they would force the practise of family endogamy into extinction. Before this had become complete, however, the exogamic families would have imposed a formula to define their position, as is the universal practise of all social institutions. This formula would have been the incest tabu. By the time the exogamic family had completely eliminated the endogamic type, the incest tabu would have become an integral part of the family structure. Viewed in this light the incest tabu may be considered as a social rather than a biological restriction, imposed by the successful exogamic type of family during the course of its social competition with the endogamic type of family. With the later rise of sib concepts the extension of the tabu, in certain cases, would arise naturally. 835

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many grandchildren he or she has, and if the number is remembered, the sex of the several grandchildren is often vague. This state of affairs added no little to the difficulty of obtaining genealogies. The grandchild is characteristically not a real person of the grandparent's experience.

Grandparents, on the other hand, are much more real personalities to their grandchildren than the reverse. Even if a grandchild seldom sees the grandparent in the flesh, the older individual's personality is impressed upon the child through the conversation and allusions of the parents. Hence, it is natural that the grandparents are distinguished according to sex.

A further peculiarity of the system is to be noted in the provisions made permitting the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter, a type of marriage which has also been reported from the Carib Tamanak, Macusi, Galibi, Island Carib, Cumanagoto, Chayma, and Palenke, as well as the Coastal Tupi.[1] Among the Barama Caribs a man calls his sister's daughter takano ("marriageable" or cross cousin), and a woman calls her mother's brother iyao, the term which she uses for all men whom she may marry. Consistent with this usage is the fact that a woman calls the children of her mother's sister by the same terms which she uses for her own children and the fact that she calls children of maternal parallel cousins by the same term which she uses for her own grandchildren. Two cases of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter were noted in the area. At the present time it seems to be an archaic type of marriage. "Marriage with the sister's daughter," says Kirchhoff,[2] "is, aside from the jungle tribes of South America, known only among a number of mostly Dravidian tribes and castes of India and among the Tungus of East Siberia. . . . The Carib sources are clear only on one point, namely, that it is among them (as also among the Coastal Tupi) a deep-rooted system. On the other hand, the sources from the Coastal Tupi supply thorough going information among which statements concerning this custom can be found. We find, thus, two wholly different situations reported in which this form of marriage is customary. . . . In the first place, this form of

[1] Kirchoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, and Kirchoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschafts organisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas.*

[2] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, p. 58. Translation by author.

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle gen-
591 erations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

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601 tives. Analogous usage prevails in the case of takano (female cross cousin). The usage is comparable to our familiar application of the terms "brother" and "sister" to persons with whom we can trace no relationship. At the same time, an individual is always aware of those individuals with whom he can trace actual blood relationship. It is this loose usage of the terms for cross cousin which prevent one from projecting relationships on the basis of terminology alone. It also lessens the precision with which mar-
582 riages may be studied, because although in many of the cases which I investigated the mates turned out to be traceable cross cousins of closer or more remote degree, in other instances this was not the case. In other words, the terminology implies a positive rule that a cross cousin be chosen as the mate, as well as the negative rule that marriage must not be contracted with a parallel cousin. But in actual practice the negative rule is rigidly adhered to, whereas the positive rule is broadened so that eligible mates include all individuals of the opposite sex who are called cross cousins, whether or not the actual blood connection is known. Thus, at Sawari, Miller's present father-in-law, David, if the terminological implications of the system were carried out, should be either the brother of Miller's mother, or one of her male parallel cousins, or the husband of Miller's father's sister, or the husband of one of Miller's father's female parallel cousins. Both David and Miller were emphatic in stating that no such blood connection existed between them.

601 For practical purposes, then, we have five groups of blood rela-
621 tives at Sawari, whom we may designate respectively as Miller's
582 group (twenty-nine individuals), John Cook's group (seven individuals), David's group (seven individuals), Mary's group (eight individuals), and Christina's group (two individuals).

If we turn now to the affinal relationships we see that certain of the above-mentioned blood groups are interconnected by marriage. The several groups vary, however, in the direction of such contacts. Thus, John Cook's group is connected by marriage only with Miller's group, through the marriages of John Cook, Mary, Daniel, and Susan, all of whom married blood relatives of Miller. The John Cook group has no other connections. Christina's group is connected by marriage only to David's group, through the marriage of these two individuals. The Christina group has no other

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connection. David's group is connected with Miller's group through the marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, with the Christina group through the marriage of Christina and David, and with Mary's group through the marriage of Cecelia and Joseph; but David's group has no connections with the John Cook group. Miller's group has direct connections by marriage with the Mary group through the marriage of Miller to Mary's deceased sister, with the David group by marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, and with the John Cook group by the marriages of Columbus, Elsie, Henry, and Laura; Miller's group, however, has no direct connection with Christina's group. Mary's group is connected with the Miller group by marriage of Miller and Mary's deceased sister, and with the David group by marriage of Joseph and Cecelia, but has no direct connection with the Christina group or John Cook's group.

To summarize, we find each of the five blood groups connected by marriage with one or more of the other blood groups. Miller's group is connected by marriage with three other groups; David's group is connected with three other groups; Mary's group is connected with two other groups; and Christina's and John Cook's each have only one such connection.

Let us now examine the number of individual marriage contacts each group has made with the other groups. Members of Miller's group are involved in ten marriages (including Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). Six of these marriages involve members of three of the other four blood groups in the settlement; two marriages were made with outsiders whose blood groups are not otherwise represented in the settlement (Edwin and Lulu, John and Rose); two marriages were made within the Miller group (Samuel and Elizabeth, Henry and Caroline). Of the six marriages involving groups in the settlement other than Miller's, four were made with members of the John Cook group (Columbus and Susan, Elsie and Daniel, Henry Daniel and Mary, Laura and John Cook), one with David's group (Miller and Elizabeth), and one with Mary's group (Miller and Mary's sister). John Cook's group has made four outside marriages, all of them involving members of Miller's group. David's group has made three outside marriages, Mary's group has made two, and Christina's group one. These facts are tabulated in Table A.

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621 These blood groups in actual life have even less formalism than that with which they have been described here. They cannot be considered sibs, inasmuch as they include relatives on both the male and female sides.

It thus appears that both relationships by birth (that is, relationship by blood) and by marriage are important factors in determining the constitution and stability of the settlement.

621 768 Conversely, the termination of either of these types of relationship by death or, in the case of marriage only, by divorce, may tend seriously to disrupt the settlement. In the first place, death in a house always means its abandonment, along with the clearing in which it is situated. On the map will be noticed several "old settlements" containing tumble-down houses smothered in vegetation. These are overgrown clearings abandoned on account of death. One represents the residence which Miller abandoned upon the death of his first wife. The other is the residential clearing of one Willie, a former resident of Sawari, who, on the death of his wife, married a woman in Kurewa and settled in the latter village. It will be remembered that John Cook joined Sawari settlement on the death of his first wife.

586 The divorce of Caroline from her former husband, MacDonald, removed both of them from their former village of Kwamata. The divorce of Joseph (David's son) from his Kwamata wife removed him from that settlement and added him to the population of Sawari.

TABLE A

621 582 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN SAWARI SETTLEMENT

	Blood Group					
	Miller	Cook	David	Mary	Christina	Total
1. Number	29	7	7	8	2	52*
2. Marriages	10	4	3	2	1	12**
3. Marriages into other blood groups in Sawari	6	4	3	2	1	
4. Marriages into groups outside Sawari	2	0	0	0	0	
5. Intra-group marriages	2	0	0	0	0	

* Eight children can each trace relationship to two blood groups because they are offsprings of intergroup marriages.

** There are actually twelve marriages in force in Sawari at present (counting Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). In tabulating for each group the marriages involving its members, as in Row 2, the figures in some cases are duplicated because some of the marriages involved more than one group.

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595 Her husband died and she came to live with her sister, Miller's
587 wife, who was then alive. It seems that her former husband was a classificatory brother of Miller, so that her appearance in the Miller household may be ascribed either to the levirate or to blood ties which led her to make her home with her closest female relative. According to other members of the settlement, she lived sexually with Miller while his first wife was still alive, but that phase has now passed. At the present time she is a rather pathetic old woman who wears an unconsciously humorous expression of utter futility and hopelessness on her features, an expression which apparently has some foundation in her circumstances of life. For now she is a sort of maiden aunt in Miller's household. Having no living children of her own, she is entrusted with the care of Miller's small children, is relied upon for much of the heavy labor in the field and about the house, and assumes much of the responsibility for the management of the household. And of the luxuries of life she gets the smallest share. Miller speaks of her as of an obligation, but one has the distinct impression that he realizes the practical value of old Mary, who relieves the more attractive Elizabeth of some of the disfiguring labor which would otherwise fall on her shoulders.

595 Charlotte has only recently been taken into Miller's household.
582 She is a young girl, not more than fifteen or sixteen, who has only recently accomplished the physical change into womanhood. In fact she is the only young marriageable woman in the settlement. Columbus, a young man of perhaps twenty-two, is forced to take as wife the little girl Susan, who has not yet reached puberty, although Charlotte would be just the mate for him were it not for Miller's selfishness. Now the exact status of Charlotte in Miller's household was in the process of change at the time of my residence in the settlement. Miller steadfastly refused to admit that she was a "puitu" (wife), but merely said in an evasive manner that he "was keeping her" because her sister Elizabeth could look after her in Miller's house better than David (Charlotte's father) could in his house, since the latter had married another woman following the death of
622 Charlotte's mother. But the fact remains that Miller, acting on
595 the multiple authority resulting from his position as headman of the settlement, head of his own household, and the strongest

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] [851] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about [592] freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers,"

175 476 593 605 [591] actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

*197 592 621 around the air strip are diagramed in Figure 13. House structures[4] continue to be located in cultivated fields in which the resident adult men have apportioned sections. The composition of these clearings illustrate different stages of a man's career recruiting sons-in-law, different employment experiences, and different temporary cooperative arrangements. Accordingly, these twenty clearings can be divided into three categories.

The most simple of these categories consists of a single household comprising two generations. The husband-father is mature enough so that he is no longer a dependent in another's clearing. Also, he has not been a partner in an employment situation in the last several [595] years. He has either one or two wives. In either case, his children [582] are not yet adults. However, with no other context for recruiting assistance, the oldest daughter in these households becomes a wife [591] comparatively young, as early as seven years of age. The son-in-law joins the household. For brief periods, the young couple may reside temporarily with the boy's parents. There are five examples of this type of household.

The second type of household at the Air Strip is more complex and is represented by nine cases. In each case, there are three generations present. Yet the household is still coterminous with the clearing. In seven cases, employment, either sporadic or more permanent, has resulted in the extension of the family to include either an adult son or son-in-law and his wife or wives and children. Other adult sons and daughters have left the household. Daughters in the third generation may be young wives themselves, but they are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]

175 601 [587] to provide personnel for universal marriage and the wider circle of cooperating kin. The practice of the levirate and sororate as well as sororal polygyny (Gillin 1936:92) are consistent with this kinship system in which the identities of members of the nuclear family are merged with specific collateral kin. For both male and female egos, father and father's brother are identical and distinguished from mother's brother. Mother and mother's sister are identical and father's sister is a separate category. For the male ego, parallel cousins are identical with siblings and distinguished from cross cousins. For the female ego, this pattern pertains except for the designation of maternal parallel cousins. These individuals are categorized as the female ego's own children and reflect a provision for marriage with mother's brother. However, most commonly, symmetrical cross-cousin marriage was practiced. In the genealogies Gillin recorded, one third of the marriages were of this type (1936: 93). He recorded only two marriages with sister's daughter (1936:95).

175 582

With this one exception, the only fictive erosion of generational levels concerns the categorization of marriageable partners. For males, these people are in his generation and the one below his. They include his female cross cousins and sisters-in-law as well as the daughters of his male cross cousins and his sisters' and parallel female cousins' daughters. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage, a particular female may fall into more than one of these relationships. Also, all strangers of the opposite sex and generally of the same age are included. For females, marriageable categories occur in all three middle generations. These are mother's brothers, male

cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again, a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships. All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage, these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of recruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category of marriageable individuals.[8]

The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also merged as one category.

*177 601 561 between these two categories of individuals, and they were socially identical as siblings. Also, there is more evidence for the separation of siblings from parallel cousins. The female ego tends to reserve the term k'amicho to designate younger parallel cousins of both sexes. This term is rarely used to designate siblings. Also, a few men reserve the term yopoko to refer exclusively to their older sister. A fuller differentiation of siblings and parallel cousins has not yet emerged.

*177 601 This separation of the kinship identities of members of the nuclear family from collateral kin is also evident in the first descending generation. For both male and female egos, the term yemuje tends to be reserved for actual daughter; the term yemueale, for other categorical daughters. For male ego, the term emülü tends to be reserved for actual son; po?chole, for categorical sons. For female ego, the term ë'më tends to be used for actual son; po?chole, for categorical sons. In addition, both male and female egos use the term po?chole for a younger brother. This merging is an exception to the pattern of emerging separate identities for the collateral kin that were previously equated with members of the nuclear family.

*177 601 582 Marriageable categories for both males and females are now more limited. However, with the larger, centralized population, there are more individuals in these categories. Females now have marriageable partners in their generation and the first ascending generation. Those in the first descending generation have been eliminated.[10] Mother's brother and cross cousin remain marriageable and are merged in a single category. Among the three terms used by a female to

*177 designate this category, there is no clear tendency for an emerging
601 separate kinship identity. Also, strange men continue to be in-
• 582 cluded in this marriageable category. As before, the males still have marriageable partners in their generation and the first descending generation. In addition to cross cousin and sister-in-law, this marriageable category extends among related individuals only to sister's and wife's brother's daughters. All women otherwise unidentified and approximately the same age as ego are also included.

There is some tendency to regard an actual sister's daughter separately from the marriageable category. A few men use the term wolije only for actual sister's daughter. Furthermore, the previous designation for a female's maternal parallel cross cousins as son and daughter has been changed. These individuals are now identical with
*177 female ego's siblings. Nevertheless, five marriages with sister's
582 daughter were recorded among the Air Strip segments of the population. These marriages are dispersed among different age levels, but the individuals involved were approximately of the same age. Every time, this was a first marriage for the woman. In three cases, this was a first marriage for the man as well. The man was older by an average of 8.6 years for all of the five cases. While a girl may enter into a conjugal union as young as seven, a male does not until he is fifteen or older. Hence, these age differences are in keeping with the general pattern. This supports the suggested purpose of this type of marriage; i.e., providing marriage partners under the circumstances contingent in a relatively small population.

Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage continues to be common. Of the

*177 582 seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his grandaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

*177 582 584 Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, nonresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.[11] Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

*177 601 Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.